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## ABSTRACT

Foreign influences in the Russian language leading to linguistic change through loanword borrowing, loan translation, and loan shifts are explored in this article. Related concepts of the processes described are often accompanied by comparative word lists. Comment on the evolution of the Russian language begins with the Proto-Slavic period and is developed through the era of Stalin. Reasons for the exceptional amount of language borrowing under the rules of Peter and Nicholas are noted. A bibliography is included.

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## Foreign Influences in the Russian Language

Eugenia Evelyn Kwiatkowski

If purity of a language were to be maintained, free from any foreign elements, a nation would be forced to eliminate all outside contacts. Such an action is impossible. Men are always exposed to other's ideas, and since there is hardly a notion which cannot be viewed in more ways than one, there is hardly a word which does not differ in signification from its nearest equivalents in other languages. Words express what men agree to put into them.<sup>1</sup> From the most complicated ideas down to ordinary tangible objects, things admit of being conceived differently, and therefore, they are given names carrying different meanings in the various languages of the world. Such a situation hinders communication. Since the purpose of language is contact with others, modifications are made when two languages are spoken side by side. To facilitate communication, people constantly modify their phonological and grammatical systems and their vocabulary to the speech of their associates.<sup>2</sup> Their different systems may bring about interference, leading to changes in idiolect, dialect, or language.<sup>3</sup> As Prof. A. A. Veblen states: "We do not believe that this linguistic confusion is due to scorn of the mother tongue or to any effort to abandon it as quickly as possible so that they may get something better and more resplendent instead...This curious linguistic problem is due quite simply to the fact that it is so easy and practical a way of getting along."<sup>4</sup>

One of the ways in which this modification is accomplished is by the process of word borrowing.<sup>5</sup> Borrowing is one of the important influences on speech, and it is presumably the most important mechanism by which a language continues to change during adult life. The borrowing used in this sense must be qualified: The consent or awareness of the lender is not necessary, and the borrower is under no obligation to repay the loan.<sup>6</sup> It is an aspect of culture contact and is referred to by anthropologists as "cultural diffusion" - the spread of an item of culture from people to people. Borrowing is linguistic diffusion and can be defined as "the attempt by a speaker to reproduce in one language patterns which he has learned in another."<sup>7</sup> The feature which is imitated is called the model; the language in which the model occurs, or the speaker of that language is called the donor; the language which acquires something new in the process is the borrowing language. The process itself is called borrowing.<sup>8</sup>

Three major types of borrowing are usually distinguished:<sup>9</sup>

1. Loanword is usually limited to those borrowings in which both the phonemic shape of a word and its meaning are imported.<sup>10</sup> Sometimes both the singular and plural forms are borrowed. This is what the Russians did when borrowing the word for "coachman" from the Germans. The singular Furman should, according to Russian grammar rules, be furmansi. However, it is written furleute.
2. Loan translation - If the model in the donor language is a composite form, then the overall pattern of the word with its meaning is imported. However, the borrower builds a parallel composite form out of native raw material.<sup>11</sup> The Russian-borrowed word for architecture is dostroinaya nauka which, literally translated means "building science." The same is true with the word "canal," which in Russian is vodovazhda - "a thing which allots water."
3. Loanshifts<sup>12</sup> - This borrowing shows up only as a new meaning of a previously established word. When words for a new object or practice are needed, the borrower may accept the new cultural item, but not the donor's words. Instead, he may somehow adapt material already in his own language. The native word usually acquires the new meaning because of its phonetic similarity to the borrowed word.<sup>13</sup>

In the Russian language, I have found clear examples of only two of the above-mentioned types of borrowings - loanwords and loan translations. The examples which will later be cited are by no means all-inclusive. However, it is felt that they are the most important and the most interesting examples which attest to the fact that the Russian language responded to the need for enriching its vocabulary through the process of borrowing. The cultural development of a speech community is reflected in the history of its vocabulary.<sup>14</sup> Such a development may best be examined over a relatively long time in the history of a single language. For this purpose, I have chosen Russian in its development from Indo-European from the earliest historical period.

Russian progressed through a number of stages in its development toward becoming an independent language. After the unity of Indo-European ceased, (probably between 2500 and 1000 B.C.) there existed a period known as Proto-Slavic, during which the Slavic languages were just starting to form and to develop their individual characters. About the 6th century A.D., this period ended and the so-called Common Slavic period began, lasting until about the 9th century. It was during this time that the Slavic languages are supposed to be similar. The 9th century marks the beginning of Russian as a distinct language. From this time until the 11th century, the eastern Slavs were in the Proto-Russian period, laying the groundwork for their language - a language which had grown out of Common Slavic.<sup>15</sup>

Although there exists no concrete evidence to confirm the actual form of words in Indo-European, the similarities existing in certain words between various languages, attest to the fact that they stemmed

from the same source. There must have been, during Indo-European times, contact between the Slavs and Indo Iranians: Sanskrit - bhagas (distributor), bhagavant (honorable); Russian - bogatij (rich), ubogij (poor). The Old Persian word baga and Russian bog (god) are similar as are the Persian tabar and Russian topor (axe). Sanskrit and Persian both are similar to the Russian word for plough, socha - Sanskrit cakha; Persian sakh (bough).<sup>16</sup>

After the cessation of Indo-European, the influence of other languages upon Russian was strongly felt. The last five centuries of the Proto-Slavic period (first century to 6th century A.D.) were ones of agitation and oppression. In the first century A.D., the Slavs, who had previously occupied the area along the middle of the Vistula River, expanded westward toward the Oder and the Vistula, and eastward toward the Dnieper. At the same time, the Goths were on the lower Vistula and were pressing hard on the Slavs. In the second century, the Goths occupied the upper Vistula valley and in the third century, South Russia. During this period a great number of Germanic and Occidental loanwords entered the Slavic language, which were later preserved by Russian.

German - <u>Kuningaz</u> (king)	Russian - <u>knyaz</u> (prince)
" - <u>Leute</u> (people)	" - <u>lyudi</u> (people)
Gothic - <u>meki</u>	" - <u>myech</u> (sword)
" - <u>chelm</u>	" - <u>shlem</u> (helmet)

As was noted in the above examples, the loanwords which entered at this time showed almost complete native substitution of phonemes. This substitution by the borrowing language is one characteristic of loanwords. The speaker substitutes "the most nearly related sounds" of his native tongue for those of the other language, with the intention of imitating those foreign sounds.<sup>17</sup> Such a practice is especially prevalent with very early borrowings. It is assumed that the more a person acquires of a new language, the less it becomes necessary for him to distort the loanwords. The early loanwords are considered to be the more distorted, while the later ones are more similar to their borrowings.<sup>18</sup>

The Germanic people exposed the Slavs to new objects and practices, which the Slavs adopted along with the donor's words. A Slavic hut had only one poorly-heated room. The Germans introduced a warm room, which was imitated by the Russians: Old Bulgarian istuba, Russian izba - room with stove; Frankish stuba - now "hut." Before the Germanic invasions, the Slavs had never had much need for agricultural and commercial terms. However, the Germans contributed to the advancement of these areas and along with this advancement, many new words entered the vocabulary of the Slavs: Wheeled plough with coulter - German Pflug, Russian plug; wine - German Wein, Russian vino; cattle - German skattaz, Russian skot; donkey - (from Latin through German) Latin asellus, diminutive of asinus, Russian osel, Old Bulgarian osilu; buy - Old Bulgarian kupiti, Gothic kaupon.<sup>19</sup>

An improved standard of living must have also resulted from German contact, because of the increase in the number of domestic words:

kitchen - Old High German kuchina, Russian kukhnya; store room - Gothic hlaiw, Old Bulgarian khlevu; tureen - Gothic mes, Russian miska (diminutive of misa); dish - Gothic biuths, Russian bludo; bread - Gothic hlaifs, Russian khlebu; room - German caminata, Russian komnata; bath - Latin banea, Old Bulgarian bana.<sup>20</sup>

The word for "book" entered the Slavic language from the Germans. The Russian word for "book" is kniga, Middle Low German kenninge (to make known). Further influence is shown by the fact that several Slavic tribes inherited Germanic names: Slezy, Varnovi, Royane.<sup>21</sup>

The Huns overpowered the Goths in 376, and remained in control until 453, when their leader, Attila, died. With the dissolution of the Hunnish kingdom, the Slavs began to move east, west, and south. This marks the beginning of the Common Slavic period, during which Norman loanwords entered the Russian language.

The Varangians invaded the eastern portion of the Slavic area (Russia) in A.D. 862 and settled down in Kiev.<sup>22</sup> They played an important role in the life of the eastern Slavs. The Varangian troops carried on a borderland service; they aided the Old Russian princes in maintaining internal order and frequently succeeded in seizing power in various places. The influence of this invasion is seen in the Russian chronicles, where over 90 personal names of Scandinavian origin are listed: Rurik, Osgold, Oleg, Olga, Igor.<sup>23</sup> A number of Norman words were borrowed by northern Russians, but went out of use at the end of the Old Russian epoch: vira - a money fine for the death of a free person; grid' - a young combatant; tiun, and several others.<sup>24</sup> However, several Norman words were preserved:<sup>25</sup>

<u>Old Norse</u>	<u>Old Swedish</u>	<u>Old Russian</u>
<u>askr</u>	<u>asker</u>	<u>ask'</u> - box
<u>gridth</u>		<u>grid'</u> - personal attendant
<u>knutr</u>	<u>lar</u>	<u>knut'</u> - whip
<u>lodi</u>		<u>lar'</u> - chest
<u>stong</u>	<u>stang</u>	<u>luda</u> - cloak
<u>snekka</u>		<u>styag'</u> - banner
<u>embaetti</u>	<u>aembiti</u>	<u>shneka</u> - longship
	<u>ankari</u>	<u>yabednik</u> - officer
<u>kerf</u>	<u>karfve</u>	<u>yakor'</u> - anchor
	<u>rys ja</u>	<u>kerb'</u> - flaxbundle
	<u>skifva</u>	<u>ryuzha</u> - bow-knot
		<u>skiva</u> - slice of bread

The Slavs continued to migrate. In the 10th century, the East Slavs occupied a vaguely defined territory shaped like an arc or triangle north of the line Novgorod-Kiev.<sup>26</sup> The Proto-Russian period had begun.<sup>27</sup>

The loanwords which entered the Russian language prior to this period, came from peoples who had invaded the east Slavic territory. The reason for this is that when speakers of two different languages

live intermingled in a single region and one of the languages is spoken by those in power (most often brought about by invasion and conquest), this language tends to be the dominant one. Extensive borrowing takes place from the dominant language into the lower, dominated language.<sup>28</sup> Up until this time, Russia's cultural contact was only with peoples who had entered her domain by invasion. Beginning with the Proto-Russian period, Russia began to look beyond her borders and developed ties with other nations under circumstances which fostered word borrowing.

In 863 two missionaries, Cyril and Methodius were sent to Moravia to preach in Slavic. Contact with Greece at this time was influential in moulding the cultural vocabulary of Old Russian, for the Russian language borrowed a significant number of religious terms from Greece - words referring to features of biblical society, the organization of the Orthodox Church or theological ideas:<sup>29</sup> yevangeliye, ikona, monastiri, diakon, igumyen (Father superior of a monastery), monakh, angel, satana, diavol, yeres' (heresy),<sup>30</sup> aromat (aroma), vlasfimisat' (to blaspheme), drakhma (drachma), apostol'.<sup>31</sup>

But these words did not constitute the majority of Old Russian borrowings from the Greek language, nor do they characterize the content and scope of the Old Russian-Greek linguistic interrelations.<sup>32</sup> There developed economic and political connections between the Greeks and the eastern Slavs. However, little evidence remains of this language of diplomacy and affairs, for these words entered the Old Russian language orally.<sup>33</sup> On the other hand, many Greek loanwords which characterized the Old Russian way of life and the level of the Old Russian culture entered by means of books and were therefore preserved: gramota (Gr. grammata - document), khartiya (Gr. xartia - charter), tetrad' (Gr. tetradion - folded fourfold), filosof, terem, (Gr. teremmon - tower), polata (Gr. palati - palace), invest' (lime), krin (lily), fonar' (latern), krovat' (bed), papolota (shawl), aksamit (expensive silk fabric), len'tiye from where we get lenta (ribbon), epitimia (Gr. epitimia - penalty), koubara (Gr. koubara - skein), litra (Gr. litma - litre), khlamida (Gr. xlamus - cloak).<sup>34</sup> As can be seen, the borrowed words follow the written spelling of the models fairly closely. This is especially true when the borrowed word enters the language through writing.<sup>35</sup>

Many Greek words used in the literary language of Old Russian gradually became extinct, for they expressed an idea for which the Slavs had their own words: ayer (air), anagnost (electionist). However, several Greek words forced out some Slavic words which were already in existence, such as the names of the months: yanvar' (January), fevral' (February), etc., in place of the Old Russian prosinitsi (January), spichini (February), sukhij (March), brezozor' (April).<sup>36</sup> This replacement of previously existing native words by loanwords, when both express the same idea, tends to occur when the previously existing words are used infrequently. The relatively infrequently used words in a vocabulary are less stable and more subject to oblivion and replacement. By the same token, the frequently used words are more firmly implanted and are less likely to be changed by the influence of a second language, as was illustrated above with the words for "air" and "electionist."<sup>37</sup>

At approximately the same time as the Greeks were playing an important role as donors of a cultural vocabulary, the Russians were being invaded by hordes of Tjurko-Tatars: in 968 by the Pechenegs, in 1061 by the Polovtsi, in 1238 by the Golden Horde.<sup>38</sup> The princes of Kiev attempted to defend their state but were defeated. Once again, we see numerous examples of borrowing from the dominant language into the lower one, for this contact with the nomadic tribes of Tjurkic origin resulted in a large number of Tjurkic loanwords. In "Slove O Polku Igoreve", written shortly after the unsuccessful attack of Igor Svyatoslav on the Polovtsi in 1185, we meet several of these Tjurkic words: yaponchitsa (sleevedess mantle), kharalug' (sword; blade), karan' (ruler), chaga (female slave), zhemchyug from where we get zhemchug (pearl, string of pearls).<sup>39</sup>

Several Tjurkic words which were borrowed at this time were so widely accepted that they acted as roots. It happens occasionally that loanwords, once assimilated into the body of a language, may serve as bases for further formations of other words.<sup>40</sup> Russian san (honour) from Tjurkic san (appearance, dignity) was such a word, as will be seen in the following examples: priosanitsya - to assume a dignified air; sanovitost' - dignity, majesty; sanoviti - stately, dignified; sanovito - with dignity; sanovnik - dignitary, statesman; sanovnost' - dignity; sanovni - having an air of a dignitary.<sup>41</sup>

In addition to the following loanwords which belong to this period - tamozhna (customhouse), den'ga (money), yam (stage, station) from where we later get yamshchik (coachman), kirpitch (brick), yarmik (a letter of the khans)<sup>42</sup> - I felt those words for which the Tjurko-Tatar languages acted as intermediaries should be included. Those words were of Greek, Persian, Arabic and Oriental origin:<sup>43</sup>

Birds and animals: Old Russian kragui (TT. karagu) - sparrow-hawk; korga (T. karga) - crow, hag; herkut (TT. burgut) - golden eagle; ishak (T. eshek) - mule.

Trees and materials: karagach (TT. kara agac - black tree) - elm; sabur (TT. sabr) - aloes; izyum (T. izzüm) - raisins; altin (T. altin - gold) - three copecks; izumrud (T. zümrüt) - emerald; neft' (T. neft) - naphtha.

Nomad life and customs: kazak (T. kazak) - Cossack; orda (T. ordu) - horde; yurta (T. yurt) - yurt; sarai (T. saray) - shed; bashmak (T. bashmak) - shoe; kaftan (T. kaftan) - long coat.

Military terms: yatagan (T. yatagan) - yataghan; gaidamak (T. haydamak) - bandit.

Religious: busurman/musul'manin - Moslem; arap - Moor.

Colors: karij (T. kara) - brown; burij (T. bur) - chestnut; aliij (T. al) - bright red.

As was seen in the above examples, the borrowed words were more similar to their models, as compared to the earlier borrowings. This is in keeping with the theory that earlier loanwords contain more substitution

than importation, (The word importation being understood as any likeness in form between the model and the loanword) while in the later borrowings the reverse holds true.

As happened with the Greek borrowings, many of the Tjurko-Tatar and near eastern words later went out of usage. Such was the case with baskak (Mongol tax gatherer) and tyufyak (mattress).<sup>44</sup> There probably exists a different reason for the disappearance of each of these words. I would venture to say, that with their freedom from these nomadic tribes, the Russians found little or no use for the word baskak, for such an individual, being of Mongol origin, probably no longer resided in the Russian country. Concerning the word for "mattress," most likely the same explanation I cited for the disappearance of several Greek borrowings would hold true. That is, the Russians already had a word for "mattress" which was frequently used, and therefore, remained stable. However, unlike the Greek loanwords which disappeared, there were several eastern words, which, after they went out of usage, returned again after a number of years by means of western intervention; for example, dzhungi from the Persian dzhengel'.<sup>45</sup> I found no linguistic explanation for such a process.

Between the end of the Tjurko-Tater rule and the beginning of the 17th century, very little material was found concerning foreign elements in the Russian language. I believe that a great deal of research needs to be done on borrowings during this period, for, at present, there is a lack of knowledge about several centuries, during which, loanwords must have entered the Russian language. My belief of this rests on the fact that Strakhovsky spoke of the 14th century as being characterized by "the revival of Yugoslav influence on Russian culture."<sup>46</sup> And, as has been seen and stated previously, language contact and modifications are an aspect of general cultural contacts and their results. Therefore, it is quite feasible that the process of borrowing did occur during these centuries. This leads me to believe that the scarcity of material concerning this period can be attributed to the lack of work done in this area, rather than the absence of loanwords at this time.

The next period about which knowledge of foreign influence on the Russian language was found begins with the 17th century. During this and the following century, culture contacts with European nations were greatly increased, and we find the loanwords to be the result of cultural adoptions and adaptations rather than invasions. The first half of the 17th century is characterized by contacts with Poland and the beginnings of an intensified Ukrainian influence, both of which increased as the century progressed. The Ukrainian nation, which had been ruled by the Polish nobility, engaged in a war of liberation in 1648-54, the result of which was the annexation of the Ukraine to Muscovy in 1654.<sup>47</sup> The nearness to and the reaction with the Ukrainian language caused the connection between the Russian and Ukrainian literary language to become stronger and tighter. The result proved to be fruitful in the development of the Russian literary language. This was true in style as well as in word formation. The Ukrainian language contained many Latin and Polish terms, as well as international terms (which worked their way into the Ukrainian language from Polish Europeanization) which enriched the Russian literary language.<sup>48</sup> The Polish language

played the role of a supplier of European scientific, legal, administrative, technical, and social-domestic words and ideas.<sup>49</sup> Latin, considered to have been the cultural and educational language, as well as the international language of Middle Age sciences, increased the Russian scientific terminology and contributed words in various other areas:<sup>50</sup>

- in mathematics: vertikalnij, numeratsiya, multiplikatsiya
- in geography: globus, gradus
- in astronomy: deklinatsiya, minuta
- in military affairs: distantsiya, fortetsiya
- in civil sciences: instruktsiya, sententsiya, kapituli
- in rhetoric and poetics: konklyuziya, fabula, konverzatsiya

Also at this time there was a great increase in translating various familiar items of late medieval and renaissance narrative or edifying literature of Western origin. The originals were imported from Poland, Bohemia and Yugoslavia.<sup>51</sup> The foreign terms entering Russian in this matter would most likely follow the spelling of the model rather than its sound.

As the 17th century drew to a close, new intellectual impulses were reaching Moscow through the infiltration of Western romance and fiction and also by the presence of resident foreigners. When Ivan the Terrible had imported foreign technicians a century or more before, he had housed them in a so-called German Suburb.<sup>52</sup> After his reign, the influx of foreign adventurers and technicians increased.

The external Europeanization of Russia and her connection to western civilization, for which groundwork was slowly laid in the 17th century, set in with a rush at the beginning of the 18th century under the pressure of Peter the Great's progressive will. A flood of technical achievements and new ideas, which were brought into Russia from European and western civilizations, along with the adoption of foreign military and commercial-industrial techniques, and a series of innovations created the necessity of replenishment and broadening of the Russian vocabulary. The "Lexicon of new Foreign Words in Alphabetical Order," a dictionary of foreign words, appeared in Russia in the 18th century.<sup>53</sup> The foreign words were listed and a Russian explanation was usually placed next to it. Frequently, the explanation was in the form of a synonym, which was produced by combining Russian words or by adding suffixes or prefixes to words which already existed. Thus, we have the beginning of loan translations - the second type of borrowing which was previously defined as importing the overall pattern of the word with its meaning, but building a parallel form out of native raw material. This happened very frequently during the time of Peter and in the following century. In the following list of words, I will list the loan translation, its English equivalent, and the literal meaning of the translation.<sup>54</sup>

<u>Loan Translation</u>	<u>English</u>	<u>Literal Translation</u>
<u>dostroinaya nauka</u>	architecture	building science
<u>domastroitel'</u>	architect	house builder
<u>roskat</u>	bulwark	
<u>prolom</u>	break, fracture	something through a broken thing

<u>zastava</u>	gate before a town	outside of a location
<u>molotok</u>	hammer	
<u>vodovazhda</u>	canal	a thing which allots water
<u>rukodeliye</u>	needlework	a hand occupation
<u>krepost'</u>	fortress	strong or fortified (military) post
<u>osnovaniye</u>	foundation	
<u>rvi</u>	trench	
<u>bitva</u>	battle	<u>bit'</u> - to beat <u>bit'yo</u> - beating
<u>pobeda</u>	victory	
<u>raspolozhyeniye</u>	disposition	
<u>zashchita</u>	defense	
<u>peremirye</u>	armistice	<u>ras--</u> - dis-- <u>polozhyeniye</u> - position <u>shchit</u> - shield peace movement (implying mutual action)
<u>pyekhota</u>	infantry	
<u>sotnik</u>	centurion	<u>sotnya</u> - hundred
<u>provozhatiye lyudi</u>	convoy	guide people
<u>poruchik</u>	lieutenant	<u>prouchat'</u> - to commission
<u>otstvlyeniye</u>	retreat	<u>ot</u> - (away) from <u>stupat'</u> - to go on, walk
<u>pristup</u>	assault, storm	
<u>nastuplyeniye</u>	offensive, attack	<u>na</u> - onward <u>stupat'</u> - to walk
<u>zapasniye lyudi</u>	minute men	reserve people

However, the attempt to translate words was not always successful. As Belinski states: "In general, an idea is somehow broader in those words in which it was expressed for the first time; it somehow merges and knits with it... and that is why a word becomes untranslatable. Translate katekhizis (catechism) into oglasheniyem (instruction, publication), monopoliya (monopoly) into yedimotorzhiyem (only one trading), figuru (shape, mold) into izvitiyem (out of twisting), pyeriod (period) into krugom (by means of a circle), aktsiyu (share, stock) into dyeistviyem (action, deed) and see the absurdity."<sup>55</sup>

It is understandable that concepts might be misunderstood in a translated word, for a word contains various shades of meanings, which could easily be distorted in another language, since ideas are not viewed the same in different languages. The following words and their translations will further demonstrate this idea by showing the inadequacy of the synonymous expressions:<sup>56</sup>

industriya (industry): kovarstvo (insidiousness),  
khitrost' (guile, craft)

instrumyent (instrument): orudiyе (implement)  
snast' (tackle)

perpendikul' (perpendicular): s verkha do nizu visyashchi  
snivets ( a lead hanging from top to bottom)

fortifikatsiya (fortification): krepostyei dyelo (fortress affair or thing)  
fut (foot): mera (measure)

The unsuccessful attempts to express foreign ideas with native words brought to light the lexical deficiencies of the Russian language at that time. The only alternative was to adopt the foreign word itself. As new ideas and customs penetrated into the daily life and culture of the Russian people, the necessity to enlarge the Russian vocabulary by borrowing became evident. This is referred to by Hockett as the "need-filling motive," which he defines as "borrowing...to fill a gap in the borrowing language. New experiences, new objects and practices bring new words into a language."<sup>57</sup>

Russia's exposure to these "new experiences, objects, and practices" "was due to Peter the Great, who fostered steady and constant relations with western Europe. The czar himself visited foreign countries and the fruits of technical and intellectual culture were no longer received secondhand. In order to more rapidly civilize his country, he favored the spread of German.<sup>58</sup> He founded the Academy of Science, which was staffed with German personnel. The majority of the professors and members of the Academy did not know the Russian language, so the students were forced to speak with them in Latin.<sup>59</sup> The reforms of Peter - the attempt at ship-building, the organization of medical practice, the setting up of postal communications, the reconstruction of the administrative system, the reorganization of military-nautical affairs, the development of trade and factory-and-works enterprises, the growth of a scientific education - were accompanied by the flow of an innumerable number of foreign words from the various European languages.<sup>60</sup> The grammatical means were not disposed of in order to represent these innovations.<sup>61</sup> The maintained the basic phonetic and grammatical structures of their native dialects; but they filled in the lexical content of these structures from the vocabularies of other countries. An overwhelming majority of the words borrowed are nouns. Such a situation is rather common. Every list of loanwords shows a predominance of nouns over other parts of speech.<sup>62</sup> Nouns tend to show the least resistance to borrowing, then the other parts of speech in an ascending scale, then suffixes, then inflections and finally sounds. William Dwight Whitney stated that "...the grammatical apparatus merely resists intrusion most successfully, in virtue of its being the least material and the most formal part of the language."<sup>63</sup>

The following lists of loanwords, divided according to the language which acted as donor, is an attempt to show the kind of borrowing which occurred, the variety of topics, and the similarities between the loanword and the model. The model will be stated whenever possible. This list is by no means all-inclusive.<sup>64</sup>

#### From Germany

<u>Model</u>	<u>Russian</u>	<u>English</u>
<u>Buchhalter</u>	<u>bukhgalter</u>	bookkeeper
<u>Heroldmeister</u>	<u>gerol'dmeister</u>	president of Heraldic office
<u>Kanzler</u>	<u>kantsler</u>	chancellor
<u>Kammerherr</u>	<u>kamerger</u>	chamberlain
<u>Makler</u>	<u>makler</u>	share-broker
<u>Minister</u>	<u>ministr</u>	minister
<u>Polizeimeister</u>	<u>politseimeister</u>	chief of police
<u>Präsident</u>	<u>prezident</u>	president

<u>Präfekt</u>	<u>prefekt</u>
<u>Ratmann</u>	<u>ratman</u>
<u>Amt</u>	<u>ampt</u>
<u>Archiv</u>	<u>arkhiv</u>
<u>Kollegium</u>	<u>kollegium</u>
<u>Rathaus</u>	<u>ratusha</u>
<u>Senat</u>	<u>senat</u>
<u>adressieren</u>	<u>adresovat'</u>
<u>korrespondieren</u>	<u>korrespondovat'</u>
<u>sekundieren</u>	<u>sekondirovat'</u>
<u>strafen</u>	<u>shtrafovat'</u>
<u>Wechsel</u>	<u>veksel'</u>
<u>Manifest</u>	<u>manifest</u>
<u>Rang</u>	<u>rang</u>
<u>Wächter</u>	<u>vakhter</u>
<u>Parole</u>	<u>parol'</u>
<u>Gefreiter</u>	<u>effreitor</u>
<u>Zeughaus</u>	<u>tseikhauz</u>
<u>Hauptwacht</u>	<u>gauptvachta</u>
<u>Lager</u>	<u>lager'</u>
<u>Sturm</u>	<u>shturm</u>
<u>Feldmarshall</u>	<u>fel'dmarshal</u>
<u>Kommissar</u>	<u>komissar</u>
<u>Kommandeur</u>	<u>komandir</u>
<u>General</u>	<u>general</u>
<u>Marschall</u>	<u>marshal</u>
<u>Offizier</u>	<u>ofitsyer</u>
<u>Front</u>	<u>front</u>
<u>Kaserne</u>	<u>kazermi</u>
<u>Kadett</u>	<u>kadet</u>
<u>Soldat</u>	<u>soldat</u>
<u>Physik</u>	<u>fizika</u>
<u>Geometrie</u>	<u>geometriya</u>
<u>Flotte</u>	<u>flot</u>
<u>Navigation</u>	<u>navigatsiya</u>
<u>Amnestie</u>	<u>amnistiya</u>
<u>Paragraph</u>	<u>paragraf</u>
<u>Kredit</u>	<u>kredit</u>
<u>Provinziell</u>	<u>provintsial</u>
<u>Profoss</u>	<u>profos</u>
<u>Sekretär</u>	<u>sekretar'</u>
<u>falsch</u>	<u>falshivii</u>
<u>Junker</u>	<u>yunker</u>
<u>Patent</u>	<u>patent</u>
<u>Ranzlei</u>	<u>kantselyarii</u>
<u>Kommission</u>	<u>komissiya</u>
<u>Kontor (archaic)</u>	<u>kontora</u>
<u>arrestieren</u>	<u>arestovat'</u>
<u>ballotieren</u>	<u>ballotirovat'</u>
<u>Order</u>	<u>order</u>

From France

<u>Model</u>	<u>Russian</u>	<u>English</u>
<u>paquet</u>	<u>paket</u>	packet
<u>medaille</u>	<u>medal'</u>	medal
<u>monture</u>	<u>mundir</u>	uniform
<u>couvert</u>	<u>konvert</u>	envelope
<u>redoute</u>	<u>redut</u>	redoubt
<u>manege</u>	<u>manezh</u>	manege
<u>l'affut</u>	<u>lafet</u>	gun-carriage
<u>rapport</u>	<u>raport</u>	report
<u>sergent</u>	<u>serzhant</u>	sergeant
<u>descente</u>	<u>desant</u>	descent
<u>abordage</u>	<u>abordazh</u>	boarding
<u>breche</u>	<u>bresh'</u>	breach
<u>bataillon</u>	<u>batal'on</u>	batallion
<u>bastion</u>	<u>bastion</u>	bastion
<u>garnison</u>	<u>garnizon</u>	garrison
<u>marche</u>	<u>marsh</u>	march
<u>theatr</u>	<u>teatr</u>	theater
<u>comedie</u>	<u>komediya</u>	comedy
<u>scene</u>	<u>stsyena</u>	scene
<u>loge</u>	<u>lozha</u>	lodge
<u>decoration</u>	<u>dekoratsii</u>	decoration
<u>fusil</u>	<u>fuzeya</u>	flint rifle
<u>armee</u>	<u>armiya</u>	army
<u>garde</u>	<u>gvardiya</u>	the guards
<u>pretendre</u>	<u>pretendovat'</u>	to pretend
<u>acte</u>	<u>akt</u>	act, deed
<u>personne</u>	<u>persona</u>	person
<u>orateur</u>	<u>orator</u>	orator
<u>panegyrique</u>	<u>panegirik</u>	panegyric
<u>partie</u>	<u>partiya</u>	party
<u>musique</u>	<u>muzika</u>	music
<u>public</u>	<u>publika</u>	public
<u>probleme</u>	<u>problema</u>	problem
<u>universel</u>	<u>universal'ni</u>	universal
<u>fantaisie</u>	<u>fantaziya</u>	fancy
<u>jubile</u>	<u>yubilei</u>	jubilee
<u>mode</u>	<u>moda</u>	fashion
<u>magasin</u>	<u>magazin</u>	shop; store

From Holland

<u>Model</u>	<u>Russian</u>	<u>English</u>
<u>haven</u>	<u>gavan</u>	harbour; haven
<u>reede</u>	<u>reid</u>	road
<u>vaarwater</u>	<u>farvater</u>	channel
<u>keil</u>	<u>kil'</u>	keel
<u>skipper</u>	<u>shkiper</u>	skipper
<u>raa</u>	<u>reya</u>	cross beam

sloep  
kajuit  
dok  
steek

shlyupka  
kayuta  
dok  
shtik

sloop  
cabin  
dock  
bayonet

From England

Russian

bot  
shkuna  
fut  
brig  
michman

English

boat  
schooner  
foot  
brig  
midshipman

Latin Terms

Model

expedirio  
tractatus  
tabella  
forma  
projectus  
administrator  
actuarius  
auditor  
gubernator  
inspector  
imperator  
accredо  
approbo  
confisco  
tracto  
incognitus  
appellatio

Russian

ekspeditsiya  
traktat  
tabel'  
forma  
proyekt  
administrator  
aktuarius  
auditor  
gubernator  
inspektor  
imperator  
akkreditovat'  
aprobirovat'  
konfiskovat'  
traktovat'  
inkognito  
apellyatsiya

English

expedition  
treatise; treaty  
list  
form  
project  
administrator  
actuary  
auditor  
governor  
inspector  
emperor  
to accredit  
to probate  
to confiscate  
to discuss  
incognito  
appeal

The influx of a great number of new words into Russian led to a certain amount of enthusiasm for other languages. Wholesale translations of Western books set the foundation for a new intellectual life of the upper classes.<sup>65</sup> There arose a vogue in Europeanization, and among the higher strata of society there existed a certain fashion in knowing foreign words.<sup>66</sup> The phenomenon of fashion is very apparent in connection with borrowing.<sup>67</sup> This is spoken of by Hockett of the "Prestige Motive." If the imitator admires certain people, he may emulate them in speech pattern and other respects. Sometimes he does not admire, but wishes to be identified with those he imitates and be treated as they are.<sup>68</sup> A large number of loanwords with a major prestige factor can have great effects on the vocabulary and in articulatory habits.<sup>69</sup> This leads me to believe, that although sounds are the most resistant to borrowing, the foreign influence during this period was great enough for pronunciation borrowing to occur, the motive of which is also prestige.

This era, undoubtedly, witnessed some of the greatest innovations in the history of the Russian language. Borrowing occurred on a large scale, words being transmitted both orally and by writing. The process was not limited to loanwords, but included loan translations and pronunciation borrowings as well. Significantly, the ideas and practices which were designated by these words were likewise readily accepted. The welcome that is offered to innovations of various kinds changes within a language through successive periods of history.<sup>70</sup> Russia is seen to have extended this welcome during Peter's reign, for he exposed the shortcomings of the Russian language and expressed the necessity of change. Added to this need factor was the prestige motive for borrowing. Thus existed at this time not one, but the two most important reasons for borrowing, thereby multiplying the desire for foreign words and phrases. In contrasting these later borrowings with some of the earlier ones, we notice less distortion of the loanwords, many being an exact or almost exact replica of the model. These later words were usually assumed with all their sounds, forms and meanings intact in an attempt to westernize the Russian nation by culture contact with the countries of Europe, imitating both their way of life and language.

The situation remained this way until the end of Nicholas' reign. Intent upon the pride of race, Nicholas discouraged the foreign idioms and reverted to the Russian language. Although he made Slavic again the habitual language of the upper classes, he did not attempt to exterminate the many Russian words built on German and French patterns.<sup>71</sup> The development Russian had derived from copying foreign speech was wisely preserved as a lasting and abiding improvement of the vernacular.

Russian has progressed through a number of stages in its development. It reached its present form partly because of modifications in its structure and borrowings from other languages. I. V. Stalin emphasized that the vocabulary of the Russian language was increased at the expense of the vocabulary of other languages. This did not weaken, but, enriched and strengthened the Russian language.<sup>72</sup> Foreign influences in the Russian language was shown by comparing the Russian borrowed words with their models, and fitting in these comparisons with historical facts which made the assimilation of these foreign words into Russian feasible.

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